

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4251

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 27202

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, FR, UK, USUN, SHUM

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON SOUTH AFRICA - FURTHER FRENCH
VIEWS

REF: (A) STATE 246927 (EXDIS); (B) STATE 245977

(C) CAPE TOWN 733; (D) USUN 4652; (E) CAPE TOWN 751;

(F) CAPE TOWN 750

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE QUAI IS HOPEFUL THAT DEMARCHES TO
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT (SAG) BY THE THREE POWERS
THAT VETOED SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION FROM THE UN WILL
HAVE A BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES,
ESPECIALLY IN NAMIBIA. END SUMMARY

1. ON NOVEMBER 14, COMBAL (QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR
AFRICA) EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT TO US AT THE LACK OF
AN AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A JOINT
U.S. - U.K. - FRENCH DEMARCHE TO THE SAG (REF B). HE
SAID THAT ON NOVEMBER 12, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN
GAVE AMBASSADOR KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET AN INDEFINITE REPLY
TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE AMERICAN POSITION ON
THE FRENCH PROPOSAL EVEN THOUGH SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD
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RETURNED TO WASHINGTON. IN VIEW OF THE FRENCH CONVIC-

TION THAT A FOLLOW-UP WITH THE SAG TO THE TRIPLE VETO SHOULD BE MADE QUICKLY IN ORDER TO HAVE BEST EFFECT, COMBAL SAID THAT THE QUAI IS DRAFTING INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN PRETORIA TO PROCEED WITH A UNILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE SAG IF THE UK AND US ARE NOT PREPARED TO MAKE A JOINT ONE.

2. (COMBAL PHONED NOVEMBER 15 TO TELL US THAT A LATE TELEGRAM FROM WASHINGTON INDICATED THAT THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MAKE A PARALLEL, IF NOT A JOINT APPROACH TO THE SAG. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN PRETORIA HAVE BEEN SENT, INCLUDING THE REQUEST THAT HE COORDINATE HIS DEMARCHE WITH THE UK AND U.S. AMBASSADORS).

3. COMBAL WENT ON TO INDICATE THAT THE FRENCH THINK THAT THE SAG HAS DECIDED THAT RHODESIA IS "FINISHED". WHILE THEY EXPECT THE SAG TO MAINTAIN SOME POLICE FORCES IN RHODESIA IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF SEVERE RACIAL TROUBLES, THEY THINK IT WILL ALSO PUT CONTINUING PRESSURE ON SMITH TO COME TO AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE BLACKS AND THE BRITISH.

4. AS FOR NAMIBIA, THE FRENCH CONSIDER THAT THE SAG WILL DO SOMETHING THERE, BUT THAT THE SITUATION IS VERY AMBIGUOUS. COMBAL THOUGHT THE THREE POWERS COULD HAVE A HIGHLY USEFUL EFFECT ON NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS BY URGING THE SAG TO MAINTAIN NAMIBIAN UNITY WHILE LEADING THE TERRITORY TO EARLY INDEPENDENCE.

5. COMBAL SAID THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THE THREE POWERS COULD BE EQUALLY HELPFUL ON THE INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS SIMPLY DO NOT REALIZE THAT GIVING INDEPENDENCE TO THE BANTUSTANS WILL HAVE NO POSITIVE VALUE IN FOREIGN EYES, COMBAL SAID, AND MUST BE MADE TO RECOGNIZE THAT ONLY GRADUAL DESEGREGATION WILL SATISFY AFRICAN DEMANDS. ADMITTING THAT SOUTH AFRICAN EXPONENTS OF APARTHEID WILL BE HARD TO CONVINCE, COMBAL FELT THAT IN THE WAKE OF THE TRIPLE VETO, THE TIME TO MAKE THE EFFORT IS NOW.

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